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ABSTRACT

The most basic reason why blacks are rejecting integrated education is that such education is incapicitating in terms of understanding and alleviating the black condition. Negro Americans educated in white institutions are turned against their own people; they become advocates for oppression of blacks, not advocates against their oppression. Education for humanism is far more relevant than intergrated education, or even separatist education. Integrated education has largely been a subterfuge; little systematic effort has been undertaken to help black and white students relate as equals. Looking at events of the recent past, it is clear that decentralized systems tend to replicate centralized ones except for size; the effective decisions continue to be made centrally. Students both black and white, are agitating for the right to identify decisions about their lives which no one can make for them. Such decision-making should be along cultural lines. A multicultural institution cannot exist without multicultural control. Finally, there is need to deliberately work out a meaningful linkage between the school and the community. The content of the in-school curriculum should draw heavily upon the content of the community experience. (RJ)

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INTEGRATION

OR SEPARATISM

IN EDUCATION: K-12

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dedicated

to

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A. Integration and Truth

"What was it that Andy said? You recall Amos and Andy. I feel so unlaxed" (semi-verbatim)

Former Chief of the U.S. Supreme Court Earl Warren was heard to make this statement on national television when he was honored on Sunday, June 29, 1969 at the Lincoln Memorial on the occasion of his retirement. One of the speakers at the affair was Dr. Kenneth Clark. The television excerpts of his presentation found him discussing the subject of humanism. His testimony describing the psychological damage which Black students suffered because they were denied opportunities to sit beside white students in classrooms loomed as an important contribution to the Supreme Court's Decision on May 19, 1954. Justice Earl Warren will long be remembered for chairing the unanimous decision that was made in that case.

It now turns out that Warren's liberalism was a joke. The sterotypic roles played by two white men (Amos 'n Andy) wearing Black masks is not the kind of humor to which young white and Black students ought to be exposed. Clark's do-gooder psychological approach required that white students do-good by "treating" Negro students, i.e., white students were expected to become psychiatrists. The fallacy of Clark's argument lie in his failure to cite the fact that Black students who want to become white suffer psychologically whether within segregated or integrated classrooms. Secondly, he made a basic assumption that "white schools were right" even though the great majority of white students have been systematically educated not to respect Black students as people: as human beings in their own right. Finally, the Supreme Court decision itself was based on a faulty premise - it asserted that schools were "separate and equal" at the time of the decision. The fact is that most schools were <u>deliberately separate</u> and <u>deliberately unequal</u> in terms of teacher turnover, over crowding, number of textbooks, quality of the building, per capita expenditures, test scores, etc.

Just as Warren's and Clark's positions are based on white supremacist thinking, the subject of this paper is much more a response to a concern of white supremacists than it is to those who are interested in humanizing the educational situation. <u>The subject question is an analytical distortion since the opposite of integration is segregation, not separatism</u>. Both integration and segregation result in white control of both Black and white schools. The opposite of white control is Black control - not planned separation. Separation has become a concern for white Americans largely because it represents a shift within the Black community from a reliance on white paternalism to competition with whites for the right and responsibility for defining the Black condition.

The so-called school separatist movement within Black communities has not involved the mass migration of Black students into Black communities. Rather, it has precipitated the mass exodus of white and tenured principals from the centers of power within predominantly Black schools. Someone has asserted that the schools in the Black communities approximate a situation in which one has a predominantly Jewish community with a cadre of Arab principals. The colonizer - colonized relationship forces the Arab principal to expend his energies trying to appease and placate his students rather than to educating them. In doing so, he employs Jewish colonial-relations agents. Some people who want to conceal the truth now call them "human relations" agents. The separatist movement has been so defined by white colonialists who have a greater interest in controlling Black people than they have in experiencing a shared educational experience with them. The unstated agenda, then, is that the movement for Black control is a challenge to the political and economic structure of the nation.

Blacks have moved from the tokenism of paternalism to the assertion of their right to authentic entitlements - ably expressed in Jim Forman's Black Manifesto. The socio-economic contract between Negro and whites has been one in which Negroes exchanged a menial existence for white philanthropy and noblesse oblige. Recall Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition statement in which he chose slavery over extinction and in which he appealed to the white conscience and subordinated Black consciousness. The movement for Black community control, then, is also an attempt to articulate a new socio-economic contract between Blacks and whites; one in which the economic rewards of oppression and slavery are returned to those on whose backs the wealth was acquired with no strings attached.

Another part of this issue relates to the recognition by Blacks of the need to control the content of the educational experiences of Black students. This recognition is based on the effective lack of good intentions and the questionable availability of skills within the white community to educate Blacks humanely and meaningfully. One would be hard put to demonstrate the opposite views based on the achievement scores, the drop out rates and the like, for Black students. If anything, integration was directed toward the "talented tenth"; it was not designed to educate the Black masses.

Pentecoste has defined integration thusly:

> "Integration as a theory is basically a willingness to give up one's own attributes and lose racial self-identity by merging with the dominant group."(1)

The skin color, life style, and mores of Black people have required that they think and behave white, and reject themselves and the Black masses

in order to integrate. Frazier even suggested that they had to exaggerate the behavior of their white middle class counterparts in order to integrate. From this vantage point, integration was available only to those Blacks who could comfortably "play white" - and were "middle class enough" not to remind white people that Black students are essentially and ethnically Black. They became Black Anglo-Saxon Protestants as a means to be educated.

Two other statements ought to be made about the integration question: its failure to foster "academic curriculum integration"; and its tendency to develop people who became a part of the problem and seldom a part of the solution. The rash of Black Studies Programs is a direct reflection of the failure of "integrated," white supremacist education. Black students are refusing to attempt to fully integrate themselves into racist institutions which educate Black students to hate themselves as Blacks. White-controlled institutions of higher education have systematically overlooked the intellectual and political interests of 25 million Black people and persisted in talking about the right of free inquiry and academic freedom. Similarly, large numbers of such institutions have responded to their own essential racist practices with a racist response. It is racist for white-controlled institutions to agree to set up Black Studies Programs without modifying the basic content and form of the white-controlled programs. The white radical student protests have been largely based on the thesis that they do not want to be educated to become white Uncle Toms and/or white racists. The failure of such programs to develop counter-racist content, forms and experiences for white students compounds the refusal to address themselves honestly and forthrightly to the legitimate interests of Black students.

It seems to me that the most basic reason why Blacks are increasingly rejecting "integrated education" is that such education is incapacitating in terms of understanding and alleviating the Black condition. There is no irony in the fact that most educated people - Negro and white - are not educated to deal with Blacks as people or to understand the true nature of their problems. Most people are educated to accept "lily-white middle class America" and to line up at the command of the upper classes. Importantly, Negro Americans who are educated in white-controlled institutions are turned against their own people. They become advocates for the oppression of Blacks, not advocates against their oppression.

B. <u>A Glossary of Terms</u>

The above word confusion should be cleared up by an effort to define terms.

<u>Desegregation</u> - The <u>physical mixing</u> of pupils from a variety of ethnic backgrounds within one school without changing the structure and content of the educational program to reflect the presence of different cultural groupings through the provision of systematic opportunities for the

sharing of these creative differences. An analogue to the desegregated racially-mixed school is the segregated white school with its WASP orientation. White-hyphenated groups of European origin are conditioned to leave their discrete cultural differences on the school's door steps and to learn to assimilate.

The desegregated racially-mixed school when compared to the segregated white school differs only to the degree that the numerical presence of Black students elicits (a) the fulfillment of the self-fulfilling prophecy through lowered teacher expectations and investment, (b) the strengthening of the track system against Black youth, (c) the establishment of special guidance classes, (d) the re-segregation of such students within classrooms and by classrooms, (e) the expanded use of vacant space to prevent further desegregation and (f) tighter control over the PTA.

One observer, Gregory Coffin, recently fired from the position of Superintendent of the Evanston, Illinois schools because he sought to integrate the city's desegregated schools, has asserted that the self-concept of Black students diminishes in desegregated settings. His point seems to be that they undergo a WASP-izing anti-self experience. It is his contention that "desegregated racially-mixed schools" are less effective than segregated Black schools for Black youth in building one's self-image.

Integration - the sharing of a mutually self-reaffirming educational experience by students from a variety of ethnic, religious, social and economic backgrounds. It embodies curriculum modifications, changes in the school organization, a re-distribution of decision-making roles and a confrontation of the track system. Designed to enable students to learn to establish co-equal relationships and to understand the true nature of the society, it focuses its attention on enabling students to acquire the skills, insight and knowledge to participate in solving their own problems and those of the society of which they are a part.

Blacks employed within such systems are expected to provide leadership for both white and Black children. In desegregated racially-mixed systems and segregated white systems, they are asked to serve as advocates against Black students or the eventuality of their possible presence.

Black-Controlled School Movement - Schools located within the Black community in which the Black community seeks to remove white racists from control over the school in order to:

(a) modify and control the content, form and style of the school
(b) mute the oppressive policies of the central board such as school suspension procedures, "gentlemen's agreements" as they apply to the use of corporal punishment and staff promotion, the de-Africanization of the curriculum, the coercive use of the police system against kids to protect teachers who fail to teach, the infantilization of parents, the regimentation of teachers, and feeble submission to union control.

(c) involve the community in acquiring the skills to hold the school accountable
(d) diminish the flow of public funds for school construction, the purchase of books and supplies, employment purposes out of the community
(e) centralize community planning, and development around the community's most important asset - the future of its children, not just its children.

It is worthwhile to note that at Ocean Hill Brownsville, Harlem's I.S. 201 and the District of Columbia's Morgan Community School the first evidence of a beginning voice by the subject communities were revealed as follows:

(a) A change in the affective climate of the school. It was no longer necessary to put up signs saying "This is Your School." The communities began to feel it.
(b) A sharp decline in school suspensions. A community does not deny its own kids a right to an education, despite the nature of that education.
(c) A decrease in vandalism. Students don't destroy schools they respect or the windows of the classrooms of teachers who respect them.
(d) A de-patronization of white liberal teachers. White liberal teachers either resigned, created a circumstance to justify a request for a transfer - or became human.
(e) A "chickening out" by white racist teachers and "psychologically white" Negro teachers. These teachers tended to resign or request transfers because of "Black anti-semitism," "Black racism" or fear of exposure. Few were authentic humans or else they would not anticipate that Blacks should agree to allow them to continue to practice hypocrisy in the name of democracy.
(f) An increase in the number of teacher applications for schools located within less chance communities.
(g) An increase in the percentage of crisis-oriented, risk-taking teachers from a pattern characterized by teachers who had their mothers and the central board in their minds.
(h) A shift in the content of the agenda of "teacher room gossip," staff meetings and parent-teacher transactions from getting new teacher in line, institutionalized resistance to the principal and the training of parents to play it cool to the sharing of educational ideas, strengthening of the school organization and parental development.

The transition is painful and difficult. It requires new sets of social relationships and new modes of behavior following the stark realization that the majority had been conditioned to become advocates for the system - and not the advocates of the children they came to teach.

Separation in Education: Some Examples

(a) The private school systems.
(b) Segregated white public schools.
(c) The parochial school system including the Black Muslims' school.

These schools are characterized by their segregation along social class, religious, geographic and/or racial lines. Their admissions criteria tend to exclude, rather than include. Such schools are a reaction to the failure of public school education, a deliberate effort to avoid the status-labeling that derives from public school attendance or a systematic effort to avoid racial/social class mixing. All seek to preserve religious, racial and/or social class integrity. I know of no predominantly Black public school that has refused to admit white students.

They differ from the schools which will emanate from the Black community control movement in that they are controlled by the religious, hierarchy, elite Board of Trustees and/or professionals. In most cases they serve functional rather than geographical communities. Segregated white public schools are both geographically and functionally white, with emphasis on the latter.

The Black community control movements tends to question the integrity and authenticity of whites who want to head up Black schools. A heavy emphasis is placed on meaningful parent/community involvement in decision-making, curriculum planning and communal development. The thrust of such programs is toward the humanization of the educational, experience through a planned process of Blackenizing, de-colonizing, de-niggerfying, re-humanizing, de-honkifying and relevant-izing the total curriculum. Importantly, counter-racist strategies are articulated and implemented.

Humanization - It seems worthwhile to redefine this term in the light of the above definitions. This act is important since within a white racist society there has been an ingrained tendency to assume that whites were human just because they were white. Conversely, Blacks have been defined and treated as being non-humans as a consequence of the white self-definitions.

First, a Black human is not a replica of a white since the latter would want the former to integrate into racist institutions, to gradualize his liberation and become a turncoat against other Blacks. A white human is one who is able to establish a co-equal relationship with a Black human; to reject the privileges of the white skin and to refuse to savor the deferential treatment of Uncle Toms.

Secondly, Black and white humans can agree on the nature of this society and its built-in destructive tendencies. Reference is made here to

fragmented approaches to problem-solving of societally-produced problems. Both are committed to seeking out the basic causes for such problems as drug addiction, white institutional racism, structured unemployment and those processes that condition people to line up for jobs, status and pursuing nothingness.

From this vantage point an authentically integrated school should not be solely on the basis of its ethnic composition. Rather it should be reflected by the efforts undertaken to enable the students to acquire the skills, insights and knowledge to protect their right to be human: If Governor Wallace was principal of a perfectly desegregated racially-mixed school, it would indeed, remain a white racist institution. On the other hand, if Kenneth Haskins, principal of Morgan Community School in Washington was principal of an all-white school or Elliot Shapiro was principal of an all-Black school, the chances are that the students would experience an integrated education.

Segregation - A form of educational apartheid deriving from racism and conditioning condoning the control over the education of Blacks by whites. It differs from desegregation in that in the latter instance the education of Blacks is controlled within the same schools as attended by some whites. Segregated and predominantly Black schools are controlled on geographic bases. School district lines are gerry-mandered to maintain it. Residential and job discrimination, re-enforce it.

Segregated white schools and segregated Black schools are both controlled by whites to prevent Black students from desegregating the white schools and to control the activities of Black teachers within the Black schools.

C. New Educational Forms

The issue of integration and separatism, as viewed through my eyes and experiences, are less relevant than the right to control the content and form of the educational experiences of the students involved. This is not merely an educational question; it is a political one. It is political because the largest number of segregated schools in this country are white - and there is little pressure to break them up by bussing white students into schools where Blacks are a majority or to admit Black students to predominantly white schools. Witness the recent fiasco in Great Neck, New York where sixty Black children of kindergarten age were refused the right to be bussed into Great Neck schools. It appears, however, that the New York Board of Education's bureaucracy "arranged" the situation to ensure a rejection of the plan by Great Neck residents.

If one were to examine the community control struggle in New York City, one would wonder what the UFT would have lost by not opposing the

efforts at I.S. 201 and Brownsville, that it has not already lost. Black students for generations to come will fight the UFT and its counterparts. The UFT turns out to be a labor union period. Any relationship between the UFT and a professional association is purely propaganda. The fact that UFT membership is predominantly white and Jewish raises another question. Blacks had a right to anticipate that Jewish teachers who were authentic would resist oppressor roles. If the Blacks had little reason to expect any genuine support by white America, so did the Jews have little reason to expect white America to respond to it with decency. Just as this country became a spectator at the murder of six million Jews, it has historically defined itself as being human while treating Blacks inhumanly. Shanker's phony charges of Black anti-semitism in the face of the predominance of Jewish teachers at Ocean Hill Brownsville and a high inventory at Harlem's I.S. 201 - convinced Blacks that to fight racism with racism was to participate in one's own destruction. Similarly, studies have shown that there is far more white anti-semitism than there is Black anti-semitism.

The community control struggle never really achieved a negotiable state, largely because Shanker, and later Donovan and Lindsay, wanted Rhody McCoy to say "Yassuh" to Shanker. They really wanted an agreement to de-centralized re-centralization: and to guarantee that large numbers of Blacks and Puerto Ricans would not be knocking on the doors of colleges years hence. It is no accident that the Blacks born just prior to 1954 are pushing for Black Studies Programs on white college campuses; are organizing to take over their schools; are resisting service in Vietnam; and have switched from gang-fighting to pig-fighting. They are also resisting cooperating with decentralized systems. They are interested in creating new educational forms that address themselves to the legitimate political interests of the Black community.

Lindsay learned that one cannot appease racists without total surrender. The recent primary contest in New York City proved this. The SDS movement has "lost" in the view of the oppressors but not in the view of those who see basic structural changes as a sine qua non for the survival of this nation. The draft law, defense contracts, academic freedom-to-do-nothing, the surrogate authority of higher education, the control over the curriculum, the town-gown relationship, the role of the pigs on campuses and the role of the faculty will never be the same precisely because a minority of Black and white students believed that they had a right to have a voice in shaping their own futures.

We now also understand that:

(a) Wm. F. Whytes' Organization Man should have been labeled the White Uncle Toms;
(b) Moynihan's Negro Family is more aptly called the Victimization of Black Families;
(c) the white family - particularly in suburbia - is matriarchal,

the differemce being that the man is in the home;
(d) male superiority is another form of racism;
(e) capitalism produces its own poverty and earns its way by keeping things that way;
(f) this democracy has more of the characteristics of a police state;
(g) to understand the ghetto and its schools, one has to study maximum security prisons;
(h) at least some of the pimps, prostitutes, racketeers and hustlers now operate out of our city halls, state capitals and Wahington, D.C. and not just the ghetto; and
(i) our religious institutions are inviting the people that they are oppressing to enter the same heaven to which its leaders are subscribing.

We also know that one's given names is soon replaced by computerized numbers placed on every form between his birth certificate and his death certificate. It is no longer sufficient for one to recall his name, Without his number he is only a potential fraud.

Finally, we have learned that it takes a war to become financially solvent and humanly insolvent. Our Gross National Product is much more a factor of human lives lost than it is of human lives rehabilitated. It's all a myth: white supremacy, "rational sociology," "democracy" and the rights of the individuals, etc., etc.

My message I hope is clear. Education for humanism is far more relevant that integrated education - or even separatist education. Integrated education has largely been a subterfuge for white supremacy; little systematic effort has been undertaken to help Black and white students relate as equals. Little has been done to help Black and white students obtain the skills and desire to help solve the nation's problems without becoming a part of the problem themselves. Little has been done to aid Black and white students to liberate themselves from a need to line up for the draft, on Wall Street, in racist churches or, in racist unions.

One must understand that the movement for Black control of schools is not a racist movement; it is an effort to remove racists from positions of control over the lives of Black students. It is no accident that the first evidence of change when Blacks take over a school is in the affective quality of the schools - followed by a decline in vandalism and school suspensions. There is no irony in the fact that Ocean Hill Brownsville and I.S. 201 never had to call the police in to quell student protests, when this was the case in practically every high school in New York City. Even the conflict at I.S. 201's C.S. 39 was precipitated by union teachers and not local advocates. The local police became the tool of the Board of Education, and enemies of the schools and children that they were designated to protect. We have evidence that six Black cops were transferred out of the local precinct during the conflict because of their potential empathy with the local community. A few Negro cops were re-

tained. When the Unit Administrator and the Chairman of the Governing Board were arrested, it was done by the local white captain. The highest paid Negro official was fetched from his sick bed to make the arrest. We learned that we must also have control over the local police precinct.

This switch in the agenda from a concern only with that which goes on within the classroom to that which goes on within the community is another key factor. Traditionally, extra-classroom issues have been given little attention by those who control ghetto schools. When they did so, in most cases, such efforts were against the best interests of the students. Guidance Counselors traditionally were advocates for the system and against the students. Principals functioned more as wardens than as educators. "Teacher power" was spent proving that children could not learn rather than believing in their innate capacity to do so. Students were made to <u>feel</u> that they couldn't learn. Extra school problems - like public assistance, housing, police brutality, the pushing of dope, poor health care, inadequate diets, etc. - received little or not attention. Black students were sent to school by their parents to learn to be taught. The teachers systematically doubted their abilities to do so and labeled them drop-outs at the kindergarten level.

A Black-controlled school has to view Black students as being human and educable in order to survive. A Black-controlled school must understand the role of police in protecting "others" from Black students and not the Black students themselves. A Black-controlled school should expect that children will be hungry if they are on welfare. They should also know that the police are a part of the narcotics problem.

I. <u>A New Definition</u>

The thrust here is to ignore the ethnic mix of the school and to attempt to articulate new educational models. The National Association for African American Education has recently undertaken such a step by redefining education as follows:

<u>FROM</u>	<u>TO</u>
pre-school	childhood
elementary	youth
secondary	young adult
higher education	adult

Along with this, it has constructed a paradigm which examines the four age-levels in the context of the <u>family</u>, the <u>neighborhood</u> and the <u>locale</u>- city or town (rural, urban or suburban). It then seeks to identify the experiences, knowledge and skills one should obtain to fulfill the age-level demands - and not just to prepare them for school and to complete it. It is education for liberation and meaningful survival. Threaded throughout the experience should be an attempt to enable one to under-

stand, experience and contribute to his own cultural heritage. The rationale behind such a position is in enabling one to view one's survival as a political act. The mere presence of an authentic Black man on white American soil is a political act. Far too many Blacks have been conditioned to deny their essential differences and thereby their very existence as political beings. This movement will succeed largely because racism has failed, i.e., white Americans will have to practice mass genocide or give up racism and a piece of the action. Authentic Blacks will survive as did the authentic Jews.

II. Self-Liberation

In the years to come an increasing number of students will be encouraged as a part of the educational process to liberate themselves from a need to have others plan their lives for them. I have proposed a series of resolutions as part of the educational experience.

(a) Resolution of one's parental relationships - i.e., getting one's parents off one's mind.
(b) Resolution of one's relationships with the opposite sex - male strength and feminine charms should become liberating tools and not weapons.
(c) Resolution of interracial attitudes; ridding oneself of the need to be equal to whites by developing the desire and skills to become "equal to the occasion."
(d) Resolution of one's materialistic needs; liberating oneself from a need to be controlled by someone else's purse.
(e) Resolution of one's religious hangups, i.e., freeing oneself from the need to be saved without finding one's salvation within oneself.

III. Self-Concept

Far too many students are educated to become "other-oriented." They are educated in the skills of winning social acceptance without first accepting themselves. The white-hyphenated groups learned quickly to reject themselves in favor of WASP values. In addition, the more they subscribed to WASP values, the more they tended to become anti-Black. Witness Cicero, Illinois; Mt. Vernon, New York and Englewood, New Jersey. The melting pot became a WASP rubber stamp not a blend of a variety of cultures. Not only was there a tendency to blur ethnic lines, cultural differences were crushed as a way to "make it" into the main stream. Interestingly enough, although equally controlled by the military-industrial complex, such groups have extended their patriotism to participation in a futile war in Vietnam. They claim that this is the best country in the world, as they commit mass murder to maintain it.

Education must enable Black students to comprehend their self-worth at a gut level as it operates. It must enable white students to de-honkify

themselves at a gut level. It must convince both that their self-concepts are essentially intertwined; and that their destinies are deeply interrelated. Students who know who they are will demand that other students find out who they are. Respect will be based on mutuality. Deference will not be demanded because of differences in skin color, religious background or previous condition of servitude.

It must be understood that white students do not know who they are other than the fact that they are not Black. If they have had opportunities, they have had them not because they were more self-directed, competent or human but largely because they were not Black. Being not Black does not make one human - no matter who makes such a claim.

IV. Parallel Decision-Making

Students, both Black and white, are pushing for the right to identify decisions about their lives which no one can make for them. Teachers, parents and principals who really respect students, will begin to engage themselves in efforts to enable students to acquire the skills and insight to make decisions about their own lives. The educational evaluation process should consider this factor and develop tools to measure this decision-making process.

Students are seldom systematically taught how to think for themselves and are seldom evaluated on that basis. Part and parcel of thinking for oneself is the act of making decisions about one's own future. I maintain that there are a set of decisions which are exclusively the right and obligations of the person about whose life the decision is being made. To have that decision made by anyone other than the student is to prepare him to salute generals whose major interest in him is to teach him to kill.

Such decision-making should be along cultural lines. Black and white students and teachers should meet alone to identify their unique interests and then come together to handle common concerns. A multicultural institution cannot exist without multicultural control.

V. School Organization

Decentralized systems tend to replicate centralized systems except for size. The effective decisions continue to be made centrally. The network of social relationships remain hierarchical. Accountability is established on the basis of professionally-determined criteria; the main role of parents is to observe the process and to prepare their children to be obedient. Teachers consider the school to be their classroom. Nothing else matters unless the noise of other classrooms disturbs them. They teach all of the students as though they were teaching one child. Emotion is artificially separated from intelligence; thought from actions; apprehension from comprehension; theory from practice and learning from the reasons why it is necessary to learn.

Principals act like educationists but spend more time filling out forms than they do helping minds to develop. Supervisory staff are more interested in molding their subordinates than they are in helping them to mold themselves into effective educators. Peer relationships among students are illegal unless formally arranged. To help another student is to cheat. Memorization is memorialized; to begin to think for oneself is to challenge the forces of "law and order" who have little regard for justice. Parents are treated like their children; farmed out to the students' toilet, sat at kindergarten tables and served mouth-bleach for punch while the staff awaits their departure so that they can open up their bottles of scotch.

In a separate statement, I have attempted to outline the new role relationships which must take place in order to create new educational forms:

	FROM	TO
Principal	Administrator	Facilitator Staff Developer
Teachers	Advocate of System	Advocate of Students
	Classroom Teachers	School Organization Participant
	Curriculum Conveyor Belt	Curriculum Developer
Parents	Spectators	Foster-Teachers
		Decision-Makers
		Community School Planner
Students	Recipients of Knowledge	Sharers of Knowledge
	Individual Competitor	Sub-group Members, Peer Teachers

My point is that all of the actors should be involved in the act of educating and being educated; assuming some obligation for the total organization and participation in the process of goal-setting and implementation. Importantly, the professional gate-keeping role that turns selected students into scapegoats must be replaced by one in which the community becomes its own gatekeeper and teachers become turncoats <u>against</u> the system that has succeeded in pushing so many students out. The school exists because the community and the students exist; and not for teacher employment.

VI. School-Community Relations

Of particular significance to predominantly Black schools is the need to deliberately work out a meaningful linkage between the school and the community. The content of the in-school curriculum should draw heavily upon the content of the community experience. Students in such schools must be engaged in solving their day-to-day problems. The school must become an instrument for community development and planning. It must attempt to place more responsibility in the hands of parents and engage students in learning how to survive in a hostile society. The school must be an instrument of protest against society rather than a conveyor belt to get students into society. It must become a tool for the improvement of the Watts', Harlems and Hough's rather than merely an instrument to help students evacuate from them.

The staff must become a part of the woodwork of the community, spend money locally and use the school as an instrument to foster community autonomy. Short of this the staff and the school will continue to siphon off the "talented tenth" and commit the Black masses to continued imprisonment within ghettos.

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In summary, much more can be said and it will take a book to do so. My thesis really has been that white men are not worth integrating with until they acquire the skills of educating the Black masses to become whom they want to become. Black men have finally recognized that they can't do any worse, but more importantly, that they alone can convince Black students of their essential worth and educability and at the same time free such students to cope with the realities of a racist society. It is their non-negotiable obligation to do so whether in an integrated or segregated setting.

Liberation, then peace.

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(1) Pentecoste, Joseph. "Black Psychology" in The Black Liberator. Vol. 5, June 1969. p. 6, p. 4.